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December 1947 Vol. XIII—No. 11

Louis Freund

Madonna and Child—1947

Is Tax Refusal Effective?

By ERNEST R. BROMLEY

Letter From Berne

By VERA BRITTAIN

A Christmas Meditation

By HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK

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A CHRISTMAS MEDITATION BY
Harry Emerson Fosdick

CHRISTMAS DRAMATICALLY BRINGS OUT the contrast between vitality and size. Our poetry has dressed up that first Christmas Day as though the very stars in heaven showed their concern, but, as for the realistic fact, how irrelevant to the vast affairs of the Roman World seemed the birth of that baby in a manger! Yet, now, in retrospect the things that then had bulk and size in the world's opinion have dwindled, and that vitality, so very small, has proved more important than them all.

Today the big things in our world are discouraging, but what if the Christmas message is true—that it is not the big things which win but vitality, not the lump but the leaven! A very little bit of leaven, that babe of Bethlehem, was thrust by the mercy of God into the lump of this world, with the question rising now for each of us to face: Which do we think in the end will win? Is it everlastingly true that vitality is mightier than size?

Christmas reminds us of that truth, illustrated in personality. The story of mankind is so much the story of a lump of dough, into which the leaven of a person is introduced with consequences no one can foresee. I sat the other evening in a group of medical research scientists. They were talking about one of their comrades who recently had died. They spoke of what they called his apostolic zeal for the truth, of the opposition and incredulity he had met, and of his courage and persistence in facing it. Then one of the group said this: "He was wrong for so long and then he turned out to be right."

This Christmas my faith in Christ takes that form. Men still say that he was a dreamer, that his ideas may be beautiful but will never work, that he was sentimental and utopian, and that what he taught is not realistically true and never can be. Look at this lump of the world! they say; his way of life can never be introduced into it. And now Christmas comes again, raising a question intensely real and practical: Which are we going to believe in, the world's discouraging bulk and bigness, or his vitality, the lump or the leaven? I am not much on creeds, but this Christmas I have one. I believe it with desperate need and deep conviction. Some day men will be saying about Christ, "He was wrong for so long and then he turned out to be right."

Indeed, many from whom one would not expect it are beginning to say that now. We have tried antichrist for a long while, have thought antichrist practical. See where that has landed us! It is not a preacher, but a professor of sociology at Harvard who writes: "There must be a change of the whole mentality and attitudes of our day, in the direction of the norm prescribed in the Sermon on the Mount." So, the leaven is mightier than the lump!

This truth holds good not simply with regard to persons, but with regard to ideas. I never read the Declaration of Independence without marveling at one word in it. "We hold these truths to be self-evident." Self-evident! Then the Declaration goes on to rehearse the ideas that are self-evident, ideas that for centuries had been denied, scorned, laughed at, derided by all the big forces of the world—that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, and so on. Was there ever a set of ideas that for so long were only the tiniest of leaven, the most infinitesimal of seed? Then the hour struck when a new-born nation could set them forth for all the world to hear—"We hold these truths to be self-evident."

Such is my faith in Christ's ideas. They are only leaven now, most of the lump not yet transformed by them, but the leaven is what counts in the end. "All they that take the sword shall perish with the sword," he said. Well, is he right or wrong? Mankind for so long has taken war for granted, regarded it as inevitable, even glorified it. Shakespeare's Othello talked about the "pride, pomp and circumstance of glorious war!" Try saying that to some G.I. who went through the hell of this last war, and see if his remarks are printable in the *Ladies' Home Journal!*

Ah, Christ of God, the Prince of Peace, you have been wrong for so long, but now you turn out to be right!

This truth holds good not only about persons and ideas but about small groups. Around Jesus a little group gathered, and what an insignificant company it was! All the miracle stories ever told by man's excited and superstitious imagination do not equal this real miracle of history: the incredible thing that came of the tiny seed which Jesus planted in that little group.

The big affairs of the world today are, indeed, discouraging. That, however, makes all the more important the small groups where the leaven of decency and kindliness, goodwill and love, has got its start. Small they are, but they are like hothouses where slender growths begin that later can be transplanted to the wider field. They are vitally important. If we are ever tempted to belittle them, let us say to ourselves that this lump of the world is evil enough, even with the leaven in it, but what would it be without the leaven?

What all this means to us pacifists is evident. We are betting our lives on the leaven against the lump. And Christmastime is the festival celebration of that amazing miracle, which yet shall create a warless world—the triumph of vital persons, ideas and groups over size.

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FELLOWSHIP

THE JOURNAL OF THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

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Subheads

Scared

It seems to us that there's too much of the business of frightening people going on these days. Looking back over our shoulder, we can recall in the last few weeks Representative Thomas's klieg-lighted search for Communists in the movies, several excited outcries about purported thefts of atomic bomb data by foreign agents, a whole cluster of gloomy warnings that the Army is anemic, a hint from good old Reliable Source that the Soviet Union probably has both atomic bombs and biological weapons in readiness, a charge by a Congressman that "a number" of American soldiers have been killed in clashes with the Russians in Trieste, and any number of other items calculated to keep the average citizen in a tizzy.

We do not hold with the notion that fear is never a legitimate method for bestirring people to action, but a thing can be carried too far. Citizens who get scared to the point where they're willing to beat the bejabers out of anyone who looks, talks or acts a little differently from themselves are no asset to any country.

What we have in mind is the establishment by the government of a Scare-of-the-Month program. The idea should not be too hard to put across: there are already several book-of-the-month clubs, and a couple of enterprising gentlemen have recently announced a toy-of-the-month and a dress-of-the-month, so that the pattern apparently has won general acceptance.

While our plan would vary a little from the others—it would have to be compulsory, with each citizen obliged to take at least four good scares a year or pay twice as much income tax—we believe both government and people would benefit from it. The production of one scare a month, based on a speech by Vishinsky, Communists in the labor movement, or a decline in Army recruiting, would not begin to tax the creative efforts of whoever it is handles this sort of thing the way the present system does. Each scare under the new arrangement consequently would be a lulu, almost guaranteed to produce the desired results in terms of personal publicity, antilabor legislation, or universal military training.

At the same time, ordinary citizens, many of whom now never achieve complete digestion of their meals, could build up their resistance against from four to twelve weeks of unalloyed terror, and use the rest of the year for quiet reading, ulcer-nursing, and possibly even the building of a peaceful world.

Reds

The Washington-Hollywood circus presided over by Representative J. Parnell Thomas, where the penalty for not jumping through the right hoop could be a year in jail and $1,000 fine, left behind it one sobering thought. From now on sincere anti-Communists who are also sincere liberals are going to have to spend an appalling amount of time, and risk their reputations, defending the inalienable American rights of Communists.

Ends and Means

". . . the evidence shows that the War Department is using Government funds in an improper manner for propaganda activities supporting compulsory military training, or what is commonly referred to as 'universal military training.' . . . We have brought these matters to the attention of the Department of Justice, with a request that the Attorney General, at once, initiate proceedings to stop this unauthorized and illegal expenditure of public moneys. . . . Government propaganda is designed, in most instances, to make the individual believe he is thinking for himself. In reality, Government propaganda distorts facts, with such authority that the person becomes prejudiced or biased in the direction which the Government propagandists wish to lead national thinking."—*From a report of the Publicity and Propaganda Subcommittee of the House Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, July, 1947.*

Austere

Along with thousands of other citizens of this great republic, we spent the weeks preceding the marriage of Princess Elizabeth and Lieutenant Mountbatten following the young couple's trials and triumphs with agonized intensity. We glowed with admiration at the royal decision, dutifully reported by all papers and press services, to eliminate pomp and pageantry

out of deference to the general "austerity" of Britain's life these days. We rejoiced over the happy coincidence of the bridegroom's conversion from the Greek Orthodox to the Anglican Church just at this particular time. We worried with the two young people when it developed that they had found no place to live after the wedding, and schizophrenically felt both agreement and indignation rising in us at the ill-humored suggestion on the part of a few crotchety individuals that the couple double up with the old folks at Buckingham Palace.

The thing that made everything perfect, though, was the design for the four-tiered wedding cake, which the sedate *New York Times* carried as a special dispatch from London.

The first tier contained the crests of the bride and groom, and replicas of Windsor Castle, Balmoral Castle and Buckingham Palace.

The second depicted the casket presented to the Princess as a princess of Windsor, Princess Elizabeth taking the salute as Colonel-in-Chief of the Grenadier Guards, a night battle scene at Cape Matapan, assorted musical emblems, and composite illustrations of tennis, cricket, and racing, showing the King's colors.

The third tier contained a Cupid holding shields with the initials of the bride and groom, the crest of the Royal Navy, badges of the Auxiliary Territorial Service and Girl Guides, and a painting of the battleship Valiant, aboard which Lieutenant Mountbatten served at the Cape Matapan action.

On the fourth tier were the badges of Australia, Canada, South Africa, New Zealand, India and Pakistan.

The Empire may be tottering, the House of Lords slowly sinking into impotence, and the King reading socialist treatises to Parliament, but the Cake remains for us a note of hope in a naughty world—a reminder that there'll always be an England.

Symbol

Gimbels, the department store that HAS everything, including a fatherly concern for its customers' extra-Gimbels worries, added a panacea department to its other wares and services. At least that's what we gather from a recent half-page ad, couched in plain old Gimbels' plain old folksy prose.

"The world is in a fix," confided the ad. "The world waits for the good word from Gimbels." But when the ad writer announced this startling news to the Executive Board, the story goes on, a "sad little silence" crept over the assembled captains and lieutenants of industry. Gimbels had no answer. Gimbels was about to leave its customers in the lurch!

But then in came the Toy Buyer, complete with "smile under nose, under arm Sparkle Plenty," the last-named being a new doll based on a comic strip character.

Invited to "say something to save civilization," the Toy Buyer protested: "Don't give them editorials. Give them Sparkle!" Sparkle, it seems, is the "Gimbel symbol of hope," since "if B. O. Plenty and Gravel Gertie can produce America's bonniest baby even this evil old world can deliver sweetness and light. . . . Sparkle's the little pitcher (sic) who's worth a thousand editorials, and never a doll, doll (sic) word."

So there you are. Wrap up the editorials, the anti-conscription literature, the peace campaigns. Gimbels and Sparkle are on the march, God's in his heaven, all's right with the world!

Prepared

Having once achieved the eminence of second-class-scout-going-on-first, we have always had a warm spot in our heart for the Boy Scouts of America, and have resisted as well as we could various charges that it is essentially a militaristic organization. The boys dealt us a hard blow in the October *Scouting,* though, with a "game" called "Annihilation"—a simple sport consisting entirely of earnest efforts by members of two teams to "kill each other off" by pinning their antagonists' shoulders to the ground. The team annihilated, the rules point out unnecessarily, loses.

Straws in a Foolish Wind

American scientists, according to *Peace News,* have developed an edible explosive that looks like flour, and can be made into dough and baked into bread. It's getting so a man will have to be afraid to hiccup.

* * *

Working on the sound principle that evil can be cast out by evil, the American military government in Germany has announced a vigorous new program of anti-Russian, anti-Communist propaganda.

* * *

The Monument Builders of America have commended the Army Quartermaster Corps for its work in returning to America the remains of members of the armed forces who died overseas.

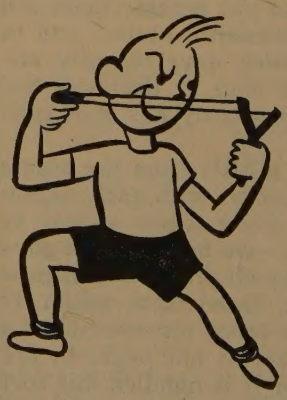
* * *

The kinds of disease produced by exposure to radioactivity have been catalogued by the Argonne National Laboratory at Chicago University. They include anemia, bone tumors, and a new kind of fatal liver disease.

* * *

Greece, with American approval, is curtailing reconstruction in order to use the money received from the U. S. to double the size of its army.

* * *



President Truman was "flanked by secret servicemen" when he spoke to the children in a Washington Sunday School recently. You can't tell what those little tykes will do these days.

* * *

The Japanese, with what must be a wry sense of humor, have announced plans to build a "Statue of Liberty" on the ruins of Hiroshima.

Is Tax Refusal Effective?

By ERNEST R. BROMLEY

IN DISCUSSING THE PACIFIST witness through tax refusal, we need not use space answering such objections as that nonpayment is merely an invitation to inflation and disorder or that since one cannot avoid certain involuntary taxes, one should bind oneself to pay the voluntary ones as well.

There are, however, two objections which need to be stated and considered: (1) that the position is rendered ineffective because a refusal simply means one pays more in the end, since the Treasury will take not only the tax, but interest, fees and perhaps a fine as well, and (2) that the refusal is worthless unless done on a large scale.

Do Penalties Make It Ineffective?

Perhaps the Treasury will take the taxes anyway, plus a little in addition. It has recently done that very thing to certain pacifists, but its action has not stopped those same people from refusing again, nor do they feel their witness is made ineffective thereby. On the other hand, in a greater percentage of cases the Treasury has *not* come to collect.

On November 27, 1755, Benjamin Franklin, incensed over the delay of Pennsylvania in forwarding taxes to England for the fighting of the French and Indian War, said: "Thus, by their senseless refusal of the first bill, granting fifty thousand pounds, and mean, selfish claim of a right of exemption from taxes, they have brought on themselves infinite disgrace and the curses of all the continent; and after all have been terrified, by the apprehended consequences of such a dispute, to give more than their tax would have amounted to (60,000 pounds), and acknowledge by a law the right of taxing them for the future."[1] But Franklin misinterpreted the facts. So long as the Quakers ruled, they were not "terrified," and did not "give more than their tax amounted to," nor did they acknowledge "the right of taxing them for the future." However, they did what some would consider worse: facing the threat of forfeiture of Pennsylvania's Charter, they gave up their offices to citizens with fewer scruples, and rather than make a disagreeable compromise, withdrew to take their stands as individuals.

One man, who opposed the military expedition to Canada in 1711 on pacifist grounds, and who refused to offer taxes for it, expressed this point of view when he said: "I have received no damnation for resisting the ordinance; no, though I am a 'low churchman' I am for passive obedience; and where for my conscience I cannot assist, I'll not resist, but suffer my pewter dishes to be taken from me, and not so much as murmur at it, as I did."[2]

That the Treasury will take more in the end is possible. In cold figures the government took more from the men who refused the Army or CPS than it did from the GI. The deprivation suffered, in some cases, by men in prison or serving without pay in CPS camps, where they had not only to maintain themselves but sometimes their families as well, will not easily be forgotten by those who went through the ordeal. And let anyone who intends to press the objection of finances very far, first take a steady look at the millions of dollars represented by the war alternative program of CPS, which pacifists relieved the Treasury from defraying.

Although the consideration of financial objection must not be overlooked, there is no doubt that there are other considerations of infinitely more importance. Probably no better statement was ever made on this point than that of the Friends Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia in the midst of the Civil War, when many of them had their money or goods seized in lieu of outright payment of war tax or fine for not giving military service:

> Many friends, in times gone by, have suffered deeply for liberty of conscience, preferring to take the spoiling of their goods, or the loss of personal freedom, rather than violate their religious convictions, or voluntarily pay a fine for not doing that which they knew would be sinful. Should a like trial come upon any of you, we are persuaded that, as you are concerned to stand simply and humbly upon the same ground of religious duty, looking to the Lord for help and preservation, you will mercifully be supported under whatever may be permitted to come upon you, and receive a reward for your faithfulness, of far more value to you, than all that may be exacted by unjust laws or unreasonable men.[3]

Importance of a Mass Protest

Instances in history of civil disobedience to taxes by great masses of people have been among the most significant of recorded events. They have achieved, or gone a long way toward achieving, the result they had in view. It is my belief that a movement of civil disobedience to taxes as they now exist in the United States, led by those who possess the necessary conviction and the power to carry it through, would be a remarkably effective instrument in doing just what the common man in every country of the world wants done: it would turn the spotlight on the treacherous path ahead and might by sheer quantity and weightiness of the testimony make a sharp change in the direction of the nation's course.

But what if that is not possible? If no such movement could come into being, is it proper to say that the resistance of a few, or of one here and one there, is of no account? I think the analogy of nations and armaments holds. Pacifists believe in the reduction of armaments by all nations. But if this program is not forthcoming, we assert that though risk is not eliminated, we prefer reduction by example, or disarmament unilaterally, to the continuation of a race in which every nation is participating. Moreover, we rightly affirm that even though this were not sufficient to "halt the deluge," it is in itself a better way.

If such a movement in opposition to the nation's armaments program is not possible, then the next best thing would in all events be for those who can,

1 Taken from the original letter in Rare Book Room, Boston Public Library.
2 *Tribute to Caesar.*
3 Epistle from the Yearly Meeting of Friends, held in Philadelphia, April 20, 1863.

and will, to take a stand alone. I doubt if it can be said that these single stands are really to no avail.

Possible Courses

There has been wide discussion of the various courses of refusal, of which at least four are possible: (1) work at several part-time jobs, none of which give sufficient pay for tax to be withheld; (2) draw a salary so low that no tax can be levied on it (under $500 a year for a single person, or $1,000 for a married couple, etc.); (3) work for yourself, or only on jobs such as church work, farming, private nursing, or wherever you receive your whole salary from week to week, with none subtracted; (4) work for someone who will agree not to withhold taxes.

The first course is arduous, though possible, and has been accomplished.

Working for so low a salary as to escape taxes necessitates living on a subsistence level; and some, who find this in accord with their philosophy of living, consider this course the best for them.

The third program suggested, working at a position in which taxes are not withheld, probably has been followed by more people than the other two. Here an actual stand has been taken against payment of what the United States law says is owed. Some few have refused to fill out any government form whatever, though at least one and perhaps more have notified the Treasury in this case that they were neither paying the tax nor filing a return. However, most of those taking this course do file a return just as do those who are willing to pay, but instead of including the money, include a letter explaining their opposition to the taxes. Here again two courses have been followed. Some have paid that part (about 20 percent in 1946) which the Treasury has said is the proportion of the budget for nonmilitary purposes. Others have felt that since all receipts are deposited in the general fund of the Treasury, from which all expenditures are made, and since a small amount paid in would be divided in just the way a larger amount is, with by far the greater proportion of it going for military expenditures, it is better to state that nothing will be paid so long as our budget calls for large military expenditures.

The fourth course does not in any way negate the third. It simply supplements it for those who are subject to withholdings by their employers. Many who otherwise would not pay their taxes have no choice at all so long as they are never given a right to their full earnings in the first place. This is a problem for the employer and the employees. If the employer is not willing to run the risk of having to pay the deficit which may result if employees refuse at the end of the year to pay what he has not withheld, then the employee must decide whether he wishes to remain in that employ. One employer who has recently refused to withhold from his employees reasoned thus:

I do not wish to be an agent for the Government's Tax Bureau to keep the wheels of war running. If what you are asked to pay looks good, you pay; if it doesn't you don't—and when you don't you are simply telling the Treasury to come get it. Last year this company paid the U. S. Treasury about $4,000 in withholdings, but our conscience forbids us to do this and I refuse to do it any longer. One of my Senators tells me he is not sure whether I will be held responsible if any of my employees fail to pay. My secretary deposits in the Postal Savings each month the amount I am asked to withhold. She then puts each Savings certificate in the pay envelope of the employee. In this way the Government has the money anyhow, though it cannot touch it; it is invested at 2 percent; and the employee can withdraw it whenever he wants to. If he wishes to pay his taxes on March 15, he can leave it in the Savings until then, and use his certificates to pay the tax. If he needs it in emergency, or does not intend to pay the tax, he will probably draw it during the year.

During the war and since, many women have stated that the only way for women and men alike, old and young, and everybody in every station of life, to demonstrate both their objection to war and their objection to participation in it, is to unite in the refusal to pay war taxes.

Various Uses for Money Not Paid

The Fellowship of Reconciliation, War Resisters League, and other organizations have stated that they have been receiving some money from time to time from people who, though unwilling to pay taxes as they are now set up, are eager to contribute the same amount for activities aimed at preventing war. A few pacifists have asked that they be given credit by the Treasury for such taxes, in view of the fact that the Treasury holds that no separation is possible once the money reaches it; and they have asked that steps be taken to set up a fund which will be a suitable alternative to what we have now, for those who are not willing to continue payment of taxes on the present basis.

In Norway there has been a similar proposal. The only difference is that the request is for a "National Peace Fund" which, if set up, would receive all taxes so designated on the tax returns, and would be administered by a Council elected by the contributors. It makes us rather shamefaced to find such a reaction there against taxes, as over against our more indifferent attitude, when only 13½% of Norway's total expenditures goes for military purposes. A recent poll found that 7 percent of Norway's citizens do not believe in the efficacy of armaments. If this 7 percent put 13½% of their taxes in a Peace Fund, the amount would total nearly 3 million kroner.

Our own disarmament would mean, at the start, that nearly all the $11,000,000,000 now allocated for the Army and Navy alone would be released for sorely needed relief and rehabilitation. But there seems little likelihood that anything like this will take place so long as those who are said to oppose war are willing to help keep things as they are. In financial language, again, it might be possible for pacifists working together to deliver five million dollars back into their own peace work rather than bolster these armaments with most of that amount.

No one can doubt that accomplishment of this, or the attempt to accomplish this, would be both an effectual instrument and a most stirring witness, and might even become the spearhead of a broader movement leading toward a constructive program of world peace. Pacifists believe, and have always believed, that there is hypothetically, in the mind, a time and place where they as individuals must simply come to a stop, and "clog with their whole weight." Perhaps that time and place have come.

This is the second of two articles on tax-refusal.

VERA BRITTAIN'S

Letter from Berne

October, 1947

TO PASS FROM Germany into Switzerland is the quickest way I know of moving from adversity to prosperity. This little country whose currency provides the dollar with its only rival embodies a way of living which ten years ago seemed normal, but for many nations is now the vanishing memory of a dream.

Against their unrivalled picture-postcard background of blue skies and snow-capped mountains, the cities, villages and homes of the Swiss seem to bask in an eternal well-being. Clothes, shoes, cigarettes, chocolates and wines are plentiful and may be purchased without coupons. Sugar, bread, butter, cheese and milk, the only foodstuffs still rationed, will be free after this year.

Too often, in present-day Europe, exploitation follows in the wake of prosperity. In an Alpine village my hair was skilfully shampooed by the local hairdresser, who also sold soap and cigarettes. The previous week, he said, an officer whose nationality shall be nameless had come to the village on leave from the Occupation Forces in Germany. At the hairdresser's shop he purchased 80 francs worth of cigarettes at approximately 1 fr. 50 the packet (the Swiss franc now equals 23¢). He did not deny that their destination was the black market, where each packet would fetch five francs.

But even Switzerland's standard of living is less remarkable than her moral assets. Visitors from countries in which bombs have been followed by prolonged "austerity" grow ashamed of their irritable manners in this land of calm nerves, tranquil courtesy, and unimpaired family life. They seek to recover their *amour propre* by commenting uncomfortably that the Swiss are a placid, bourgeois, unimaginative people who escaped the War by sheer good luck.

The statement is a gross simplification. It is necessary only to look at the strange paintings of the Swiss artist Ferdinand Hodler (now beautifully reproduced as Christmas cards in bookshops which resemble comfortable art galleries) to know that the accusation "unimaginative" is not of general application. Nor was it by mere good luck that Switzerland saved her population from the agony of war. Both internally and externally the Swiss have formidable obstacles to conquer, which only their skill and amiability conceal from the locust-like tourists who batten on their towns in summer.

This tiny country has not merely to assimilate three languages and two religions, but a large variety of political and economic outlooks. (To the inhabitants of the conservative central cantons, industrial Zurich and Basle are "red," and England "has lost her freedom.") Much of the land is poor, though it is cultivated up to the summer snowline of the mountain slopes. Water power, a major national asset, has proved after the recent dry summer to be as unreliable a mainstay as the tourist industry which is the basis of Swiss economy.

To many inhabitants of war-shattered countries, holidays in Switzerland are now no more than nostalgic memories. Germans and Italians cannot come here; few French or Dutch can afford to travel; and the British Government has suddenly seen in the prohibition of "tourisme" a new method of saving currency. In Switzerland today this economic blow is visible and palpable, for 57 per cent of her tourist traffic came from England. Normally October here is lively, since vivid sunshine and blue skies persist intermittently (and this year continuously) almost up to November. But this autumn such exclusively tourist centres as Interlaken are almost as deserted as evacuated cities, with rows of hotels and shops closed and shuttered. The Swiss do not talk about their tragedy; they treat the few remaining British visitors with undiminished courtesy, but the shadow of ruin must be uncomfortably close to many shop and hotelkeepers. One wonders whether this blow against an admirable and friendly country is really justified by the currency saved. But a confidence remains that somehow the Swiss will weather the storm—just as they have weathered two great wars started by their more excitable and belligerent neighbors, while positively contributing to mercy and sanity through their important part in the International Red Cross. Even in earlier periods, their historical rôle has not been easy. After the Napoleonic era they emerged, shaken but intact, from the peril of complete eclipse.

How has Switzerland done it? The answer perhaps provides some lessons for the pacifist who in his pursuit of the ideal so often misses the attainable, and finds to his astonishment that he has chosen war because he has rejected the half-loaf of timely compromise.

In the first place, the Swiss are extremely hard workers; they use toil and sweat not only to repel their potential foes, but to balance their budget. They have their Trade Union movement, but have never allowed it to become, as elsewhere, its own Nemesis. Their national existence depends upon hard work, so they work hard, not counting the hours of labor or the number of nails knocked in. I learned with surprise that at the end of each summer the numerous funicular railways, each one a small miracle of difficult engineering, must be completely dismantled in order to save the materials from the winter frost, and reassembled in April and May when the spring floods have subsided. Banks are open at 8 a.m.; building, which is going on everywhere, seems to start about 6:30. In a small country hotel where I stayed in the Bernese Oberland, the proprietor and his wife rose at 6 a.m., though they were on duty each night till 11:30 when their cafe-restaurant, extensively used by the population of a large village, closed for the night.

Secondly, the Swiss are realists. Their policy has been to emphasize cultural diversity as a safety-valve for the political unity which by its brave front so often conceals an acute divergence of sympathies.

(The French Swiss, for instance, were wartime upholders of Pétain, while the German Swiss were passionately anti-Nazi.) So far as possible, government is decentralized to the cantons, which maintain their own constitutions, dialects, and local customs. This careful balance between federation and canton achieves unity by a method very different from that of the United States, where the success of the "melting-pot" depends on a strong federal government and a standardized way of life which guarantees the emergence of a definite national type by at latest the third generation.

The wide oceans which separate America from the national conflicts of Europe and Asia have made this bold policy possible; she has not to reckon with a Germany, an Italy, an Ireland or a Poland on the other side of a merely nominal frontier. Switzerland, compelled to pursue an opposite process, has managed by a triumph of adjustment to make it work. External neutrality has been based upon wise concessions which have maintained the more difficult neutrality within.

Switzerland's wartime policy was far from pacifist. In the Second World War she lavishly fortified her superb natural defenses, and called up a larger proportion of her increasing but still smaller population than Britain or even Germany. Threats of Nazi invasion, twice acute between 1940 and 1945, were countered largely by plans, which would have been desperately but firmly fulfilled, to blow up all the tunnels through the Alps and defend the country from its central mountains.

But this does not mean that the pacifist has nothing to learn from Switzerland. Adjustment, compromise, persistent constructive industry, religious and political toleration, the readiness to cooperate with all while threatening none, are necessary ingredients of a warless world which may well be enviously regarded by the would-be peaceful citizens of Great Powers with empires to maintain and appearances to keep up.

Prayer

Master Invisible,
O Divine Redeemer,
Liberate us!

Take away our cruel will
To prey upon each other
Lest soon it be too late
To be new men.

For a thousand years
We have preyed upon each other.
Even in Thy Name
We have preyed upon each other.
For a thousand years we have taught our young
To prey upon each other.

O liberate us, Master Invisible,
Liberate us, O Divine Redeemer,
Take away our cruel will
To prey upon each other.
Even in little ways,
Even in everyday ways,
Make us respect our neighbors,
Lest soon it be too late
To be new men.

CARA BYARS DAWSON

Winter Solstice

WALLACE HAMILTON

THE ARC OF THE SUN drops in the southern sky—low to the break-point where the cold gathers—low to the solstice.

Storms and sleet winds have swept over vast plains, whitening the land, coiling about hills, shrieking through the streets of cities. The winds leave drifts of silence to wait and harden in the deep cold of the year's darkness.

Fear has frozen. Grotesques of human shape are terror-twisted by the wind. In the world's wilderness they stand like dolmens against the steely sky. Remains. Monuments, glazed with ice.

In a rubble city a woman hunches, bends, pokes an inquiring hand among the bricks for coal. So she was caught by the wind. The ice-shell on her back makes a sullen gleam. Her face is shrouded by the lace of icicles hanging from her head-shawl. Cast and stiffened, the woman's figure is immobile wreckage among immobile wreckage.

A man's figure stands on a platform among the drifts of snow. His arms outstretched, his head high and fierce, his mouth is open in the silence, and little gusts of wind whistle in the cavity. The medals on his chest make sharp tinkles. Before the platform are neat rows of other figures, their austere geometry softened by the wind-molded snow.

Still other figures hide in the deep forest, hoping, perhaps, that the cold would not filter through the tall trees. Women and children, lonely men curled up in resignation, their faces hidden by their hands. In open groves are large clusters of people gathered around some strange idol sheathed in translucent ice. A monster dragon breathing plaster fire. A phallus. A sheaf of corn. One clustered group raised their stiff arms to a pure nothingness, another to the lowering sun.

So the figures posture, caught in motion by the frost-fear. The man at the machine, his hand fastened on the blue metal. The sentry at the boundary—the hinge of the gate is jammed with ice. The demagogue crusted with brittle dogma—polar winds breed polar politics.

The human dolmens make a new Stonehenge of sterile being. Action, hope, heart are caught and killed in the fear-solstice, and the huge cold stifles.

Centuries past, church fathers, in their peculiar wisdom, cast aside the shreds of history and set upon the calendars, at the sun's low arc, the Mass of a risen Christ.

News from the Peace Front

Americans Aid Leaders of German Fellowship

The Chairman and Secretary of the German Fellowship of Reconciliation are being assisted in this time of hunger and crisis by two American FOR members who have volunteered to serve as their assistants and whose food and upkeep is maintained from American sources.

George Hogle of Salt Lake City began to work with the chairman, Pastor Wilhelm Mensching, of Buckeburg, last summer, and Eugene Ries of Baltimore arrived in October to assist Frau Asta Brugelmann, the Secretary at Cologne. George Hogle writes:

"With two of us helping the two chief FOR officers, both of whom are most lacking in effective operating help especially where the privileges of Military Government are concerned, such as phones, trains, mails, etc., we may be able to get the FOR going months ahead of time. . . . A good part of my job will be to travel all around the three western zones visiting the local groups, helping where I can, and speaking. The most wonderful thing though is to be able to work with Wilhelm Mensching, who is not only a deeply spiritual man but has a great vision for the reconciliation between the west and Russia. During the war he never made a compromising sermon, in fact prayed for the enemy countries as well as his own and the forgiveness of each."

In the first ten months of 1947 the War Victims Fund of the Fellowship has expended $7200 in overseas relief, most of which has been administered by FOR members.

DP Bills Pending

Two bills now pending in Congress to admit Displaced Persons to this country could help to solve a terrible human, economic and political problem if they were passed. They are H.R. 2910 (the Stratton bill) and S. 1563, which would admit 400,000 DPs, less than half the number of quota immigrants who could legally have come here but did not do so because of the war. The U. S. Census Bureau reported in August that seventeen midwestern states had lost over a million civilian residents in the past six years. Experienced immigrants could help to fill this void.

Long Island Church Helps Europe's Needy

". . . As to the fine idea of sending packages to German parishes: the main thing I want to stress is that it is food, food which is needed most—particularly milk powder. Owing to a severe and long drought much cattle had to be slaughtered and the milk supply, for even infants, much endangered. Also any other nourishing food in concentrated form, like bacon, lard, dried egg powder, etc. . . . it is a question of bare survival. . . . "

This letter from Asta Brugelmann in Cologne paints a typical picture. Here is the answer of one little church of 75 members, the Community Congregational Church of Elmhurst, Long Island, where Dr. Lewis O. Convis, FOR member, is minister. In three weeks recently the people of the church contributed $150 for CARE packages, gave $55 toward a heifer for Europe (their second), took the names of seven or eight families in Europe to whom monthly parcels will be sent, and at the same time are raising money for a building for the church.

Fosdick Article

The December, 1947 issue of *Coronet* magazine contains an article on Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, FOR member and minister emeritus of the Riverside Church in New York City. Entitled "One Heaven of a Fellow," the article by James Craig Gordon outlines Dr. Fosdick's varied and interesting career, giving a sympathetic and lifelike portrait of the man who said "I should be ashamed to live in this generation and not be a heretic."

CO Released

Thomas J. Leonard, CO who walked out of the CPS unit at Philadelphia State Hospital two weeks after V-J Day, was released from Danbury Federal Correctional Institution on September 17. Although he walked out in September 1945, he was not picked up for some time, and began serving his six months' sentence on April 18, 1947, almost two years after the end of the war. He immediately began to fast and continued throughout his term, dropping from 150 to 116 lbs.

American-British Quakers Share Nobel Peace Prize

The American Friends Service Committee in the United States and the Friends Service Council in London have been jointly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for 1947 "because of its great humanitarian work. This reason is so obvious that further comment ought to be unnecessary." Although each such award is technically unanimous, since dissenting votes in the Nobel Peace Prize Committee may not be disclosed, in this case, it was announced, the award actually was unanimous. The prize of 140,000 Swedish kroner (about $38,990) was to be presented at Oslo on December 10.

Judge Passes Sentence; Then Hears Evidence

In his hurry to condemn Lise Wertheimer for distributing leaflets in front of Palisades Park in New Jersey, protesting its ban on Negroes, Recorder Valentine C. Franke pronounced her guilty before the defense had even been heard.

At the close of the case for the prosecution Miss Wertheimer's lawyer, Meyer Pesin of the Workers Defense League, made a motion to dismiss, and Recorder Franke fell all over himself not only to deny the motion but to pronounce her guilty. Reminded that the usual trial procedure was to hear the case before pronouncing sentence, he acknowledged he had made a slip; but it came out the same in the end, because he pronounced her guilty after he had heard the defense, too. He fined her $10 and costs, and the decision is being appealed. Nine others, arrested at the same time, were to be tried later.

Correspondent Finds War Preparations in Alaska

Correspondent Noel Monks of the London Daily Mail reported recently from Fairbanks, Alaska, "There's no shot or shell, but everything's on a war footing. The troops and equipment are here alright. . . . No one up here fools himself . . . " [that preparations are aimed against Russia]. One airfield, to be completed very soon, is especially designed for atom-bombers capable of 5000 mile non-stop flights. There are 27 other major airfields in Alaska, and a young air corps major remarked to Monks: "They aren't just to deliver milk from."

Conscription Threat Looms Large As Congress Session Begins

The conscription issue faces us once more. Everybody's tired of it —except, apparently, Army and government men galore, who still think it's a swell idea and are willing to work their heads off to put it through. It was only quick action that prevented the measure from passing when it first came up in November 1944, before the end of the war. Since that time the measure has been brought up again and again by its proponents, and again and again anti-conscription forces have fought it. In spite of numerous polls which purport to show that the large majority of the people favor UMT, and in spite of the wholehearted support of newspapers all over the country, who generally manage to make it seem like a very good thing which all right-minded people approve, it has not passed.

On November 1, Dr. Robert M. Hutchins of the University of Chicago declared flatly that ". . . in speaking before groups all over the country. . . . I have found public sentiment overwhelmingly against UMT. I found that to be so despite certain polls that claim the program is popular. I am convinced that the questions put by these polls on this issue are not framed in such a way as to reveal what the public actually thinks about UMT." He further declared that "UMT is extremely unpopular among educators," and said that in spite of the fact that Dr. Karl T. Compton, head of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, is chairman of the President's UMT commission, the educators who support UMT are a very small minority.

The fight that has been carried on against this measure is a shining example of what can be done in a democracy by people who are willing to work for what they believe. It has also showed that it takes a lot of work, over a long period of time.

Everybody's tired of it—except the people who are pushing it. In the closing days of the last session of Congress a bill for UMT was reported out of committee in the House. Anti-conscription forces may be called on again, during the special session called by President Truman, to help defeat this measure. It may come up again in the regular session which begins in January, and perhaps in the session after that.

The Society of Friends has announced a $25,000 fund campaign to fight this issue. Other organizations will continue to fight it.

Unamerican Show Has All-Star Cast

In one of the gaudiest performances Washington has seen for some time, the House Un-American Activities Committee under the chairmanship of J. Parnell Thomas of New Jersey, who has stepped ably into the shoes of Martin Dies and John Rankin, made the front page day in and day out for two weeks with what purported to be an expose of Communist activities in Hollywood.

The Committee seems to have got its first impetus from Robert Taylor's indignant claim that before he went into the Army he was forced to make *Song of Russia*, which he said was pro-Communist. When questioned about this film later Taylor said the objectionable parts had been removed at his demand. Except for this and a few others like *Mission to Moscow*, the movies attacked have been stigmatized for such sins as portraying a banker as a villain, and exposing corrupt local politics in an American town. Asked whether he didn't think that portraying a banker as the villain was dangerous business, Director Leo McCarey of *Going My Way* and *The Bells of St. Mary's* solemnly replied, "I think it is a very dangerous practice."

Gems were contributed to the proceedings by Robert Taylor, who said Communists and sympathizers should be sent to Russia "or some other unpleasant place," and created a furore in the hearts of the feminine contingent; Adolphe Menjou, who said he was a witch-hunter and a red-baiter when it was Communists being hunted, and caused a sensation by wearing brown shoes with a black afternoon outfit; and Mrs. Lela Rogers, mother of Ginger, who saw a menace to the American way of life in *None But the Lonely Heart*, where a young man refuses to work in his mother's second-hand store and squeeze pennies out of people poorer than themselves. Mrs. Rogers should be remembered for having refused to let Ginger say, in *Three Comrades*, "Share and share alike—that's democracy." "You know that isn't democracy," said Mrs. Rogers with unconscious irony.

A hard core of resistance has developed in Hollywood, with 19 "hostile witnesses"—those under attack as Communists or sympathizers—refusing to answer questions about their political beliefs or refusing to appear before the Committee at all. They are backed by a great many of Hollywood's most prominent stars, including Humphrey Bogart, Lauren Bacall, Danny Kaye, and Richard Conte. Hearings were abruptly dropped on October 30, but Chairman Thomas has since announced that he will reopen them soon. In the meantime, the news has leaked out that this committee is mapping plans for an investigation of Communist activities among college and university faculties.

Support of CPS Camps Cost $12,000,000

Nearly $12,000,000 was paid out in the course of the Civilian Public Service program to maintain the 12,000 conscientious objectors who went into it, the National Service Board for Religious Objectors reported recently. $7,202,249 of this was given by the Brethren, Friends and Mennonites for their own 7,000 men and for part of the cost of other assignees as well. The government spent $4,731,558 for its camps and administrative machinery. Some of the other denominations have reimbursed the peace churches in full, some are still paying. The Methodist Commission on World Peace announced recently that the total amount of $489,600 which the peace churches spent for Methodist CPS assignees has now been reduced to $113,000, since $100,872 received during the year 1946-47 for this purpose by the Methodists has been turned over to the peace churches.

WDL Fights Peonage In Deep South

Did you ever hear of peonage? It used to be called slavery and if you look you will still find it in the South. The Workers Defense League recently made public the story of J——— S———, a day laborer on a large plantation. He was offered a better job, tried to leave, and was brought back by the plantation owner, to be kicked, beaten, and finally flogged almost to death. Before the gag of terror can be removed and this back-door but realistic slavery can be attacked, the families who are willing to testify to such conditions must be removed to places of safety. The Workers Defense League is trying to raise funds for this purpose, so that they will be able to collect evidence. If you want to help, write to the Workers Defense League, 112 East 19th Street, New York City 3.

Muriel Lester Returns

Muriel Lester will arrive in this country in January, 1948, for a series of preaching missions and engagements. She will cross southern United States to California, go up the Pacific coast to Vancouver, and return by way of Canada to midwestern United States in May. Inquiries concerning engagements for Miss Lester during her tour should be addressed to Nevin Sayre.

New Idea Nets 200 Pairs of Shoes

Mrs. Ann M. Wolf of Boonville, Missouri, sure that townspeople had plenty of good shoes in their closets they were not using, but unable to persuade people to dig them out for relief, thought up a new one. She went to the manager of the local movie theater, and a few days later an ad appeared in the paper. "Shoe matinee Saturday morning, 10 o'clock. Admission: One pair of used shoes in wearable condition. All shoes will be sent to the needy in some foreign country. If you have a preference of countries, please tag the shoes and they will be sent to the country that you desire." The ad ended with a notice of the movie to be shown, and that Saturday the Lyric Theater took in 200 pairs of shoes.

FOR Dons Drama's Robes

The Lantern Players, an FOR-sponsored California dramatic group, now boast more than a hundred members, many of them non-FOR people. The name is taken from the belief that "It is better to light a Lantern than to curse the darkness," and the first production will be at the Starlet Theater in Hollywood. Directed by Gloria Beaumont, FOR member, screen actress, and sister of Hugh Beaumont, actor and also an FOR member, the first play, Maxwell Anderson's "Wingless Victory," has been cast almost entirely with professional talent.

Business manager and director of publicity is Art Weiss, national Field Secretary of the Jewish War Veterans, and the Board of Directors includes Kenneth Macgowan, 20th Century Fox producer and new head of the Department of Drama at UCLA; Vincent Price, well-known star of stage and screen, recently in "Song of Bernadette" and "Dragonwyck"; Edith Barrett Price, his wife; and Hugh Beaumont.

Jottings

The Assembly of Bavaria, in Germany, has passed a Socialist-sponsored bill confirming the right of any citizen to refuse to participate in any war.

* * *

The residents of Greenbelt, Maryland, a suburb of Washington, established by the government and cooperatively run throughout, recently gave their answer to attacks on coops. The mayor of Greenbelt and one of its Councilmen, who testified before the House Small Business Committee against the Greenbelt Consumer Services, were defeated decisively in a recent election, in which one of the major issues was whether houses and business establishments in the town should be privately or cooperatively owned. A new pro-coop mayor and an entirely pro-coop town council were elected.

* * *

More than 20,000 baseball fans signed petitions on "Jackie Robinson Day" at Ebbets Field calling for a federal anti-lynch law.

* * *

Tom Korn, ex-CPS man now attending Wesleyan University and working as an ambulance driver, is preparing a thesis on the writings of CPS men. Poetry, letters, articles and other forms of writing produced in CPS or under the influence of moral and psychological reaction to CPS will be gratefully received and safely returned. Write to Tom Korn, Box 117, Wesleyan Station, Middletown, Connecticut.

* * *

On August 17 the Soviet Military Administration in Berlin granted complete amnesty, including the right to vote, to all but the biggest Nazis.

* * *

"The Interplayers," a new theatre group formed in San Francisco, have presented a repertory of thought-provoking plays with runs in May and August. These included *Heartbreak House* by Shaw, *Aria da Capo* by Millay and plays by Lorca and Chekhov. Directors of The Interplayers are David Jackson, FOR member, and Kermit Sheets. Both the directors and many of the performers are ex-CPS men.

* * *

Bibles and "all other sacred writings of all religious faiths and sects" may now be sent to Japan. Other publications of which at least 50 per cent of the content is devoted to religious matters may also be sent.

The American Friends Service Committee has issued a series of fifteen-minute dramatic transcriptions emphasizing the present physical and spiritual needs of Europe and Asia as observed by Quaker relief workers. The series is available without cost to radio stations, and features such actors and actresses as House Jameson and Eva Le Gallienne. The transcriptions are nonsectarian in content and make no appeal for funds, and may be obtained from the AFSC in Philadelphia.

* * *

Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers, FOR member and for seventeen years pastor of Broadway Tabernacle in New York City, will leave there to teach at the Boston University School of Theology in September 1948.

* * *

Kirby Page and John Raitt are presenting a series of daily radio programs over Station KFVD in Los Angeles, under the auspices of the American Friends Service Committee.

* * *

The New York City Board of Examiners has reversed its decision of last January which applied stringent limits to the right of conscientious objectors to obtain teaching licenses there. The decision forbade licenses to all COs unless they could demonstrate "wholehearted and self-sacrificing devotion during the war to the national cause or to the welfare of humanity." Now, the Board says, "every case can be determined individually on its merits."

* * *

A World Union of Peace Organizations was established at a conference held at St. Cergue, Switzerland in September, with representatives from organizations in fifteen countries attending.

* * *

The Department of Justice has announced that the last five COs remaining in jail were released on parole as of November 20. This does not include Jehovah's Witnesses, of whom there are still thirty-four in jail, or the 622 other Selective Service violators. The usual pre-Christmas amnesty rumors are circulating, but there has been no official word.

* * *

Norwalk, Connecticut, (population 40,000) elected Socialist candidate Irving C. Freese as mayor, and swept into office the entire Socialist ticket, with the exception of one council candidate.

The Peacemakers' Bookshelf

Non-Violent Revolt

The Rod and the Staff, by Marc Brandel. Harper and Brothers, 1947. 254 pp. $2.50.

Marc Brandel's story of an attempted revolt against tyranny and oppression is one of the first books to express the idea of revolution-without-force in fiction, and to explore the infinite and intricate results of this idea. It is, as far as I know, an almost unique work of art in this field, (not forgetting the philosophical discussions of Koestler and his powerful novel *Darkness at Noon*, which dealt with the complexities and conflicts of violent revolution itself).

The Rod and the Staff is a strong book, simply and beautifully told. Brandel writes of a revolt of peasant fishermen, somewhere in Central America, against the tyranny of unjust taxes and exploitation. It is a revolt conceived originally as a peaceful protest, a revolution without blood. The leader Passos, obviously a symbol of Christ, whose personality and strength have brought about the unification of the men's thoughts and actions toward this bloodless revolt, is killed—hanged ignominiously by the rulers. The writer then faces the realities of a mass movement conceived in peace and facing force; and the nature of men originally held by the spiritual power of a man whom they did not wholly understand but were persuaded to believe. After an extremely slow beginning in which the background of the situation is revealed and the characters separated, the novel takes on a painful reality, and although dealing with a mythical situation faces the actual choices that men must make in life and the diverse ways that human beings react. Every word of the book counts as the long painful course of men's separate and collective thinking is unwound, the revolution becomes a revolution of force and violence after the loss of the leader, and yet a revolution doomed to fail, even as the previous attempt had *seemed* to be doomed. It is in the *seeming* that the conflict lies in the minds of the men. The newness, the strangeness of the non-violent revolt preached by the now dead Passos was acceptable because of his strength, but with his death the old, the more formal and known method of achieving results seemed to offer hope.

The subtle and yet unwavering depiction of character in crisis is one of the book's great contributions, the facing of a problem and the seeing it through from theory to action, and finally the knowledge of men's reasoning, their hopes and fears, the complicated streams which pour into the final river of their decision. The book is important. It is a parable and has the broader outlines of a parable rather than the photographic study or analytical report, yet it achieves all the feeling of reality that is necessary to a work of art that has conviction and purpose as well as beauty.

JOSEPHINE JOHNSON

Edith Pierce's New Poems

Therefore Choose Life, poems by Edith Lovejoy Pierce. Harpers, 1947. 76 pp. $1.75.

Among our contemporary minor poets, Mrs. Pierce already has an assured place, and this new volume confirms her significance and her lyrical quality. She is of that group, chiefly women, in whom the Christian approach to life is native and unfailing. Her outlook is wide; she is concerned with objective reality quite as much as with religious introspection, but her impact is always spiritual, as the title of her book, from Deuteronomy 30: 19, would imply. The direct pacifist note is struck more than once, as in the scornful poem, "To the War-makers"; the bitter quiet of rebuke in "The Prison Wall,"

"While even one man suffers for his soul
Behind steel bars, all freemen are confined."

—an unconscious variant, this, of the noble words of Gene Debs. And in the vital tribute "To Muriel Lester," listening in the firelight, all her attention "rushing to meet the sound."

Our poet's music flows out of the old established rhythms; there are no eccentricities in her prosody, making a bid for attention; yet, a sustained and authentic emotion pulses within these tranquil measures. Among the high spots in the little volume, for this reviewer, are: "Pontius Pilate,"

"Not my best day, not my most glorious hour—
Still, in the baffling exercise of power,
What if I slay one peasant less or more?
* * *
That this is not my guilt well understands
Each onlooker who saw me wash my hands.
—Water! There comes to mind the aqueduct
Which for Jerusalem I did construct."

And the short poem, "Come in, Stranger," with its tenuous atmosphere of mystery; "Star of Darkness," flashing her "flock of unbelief"; the quaint, suggestive memory picture in "The Door of the House was Glass"; the lines to "The Vase," in which we see "the rising shadow of imprisoned godliness." And the arresting confessional poem at the end of the book: "O Christ, Thou Art Within Me Like a Sea."

FLORENCE CONVERSE

Via OSS to Pacifism

Richer By Asia, by Edmond Taylor. Houghton Mifflin Co. 432 pages, $3.75.

Pawn your shirt, put off buying Junior a new pair of shoes, do anything short of breaking the law in order to get this book.

The author is a well-known newspaperman who had an important job in psychological warfare in India and other parts of Southeast Asia with OSS (Office of Strategic Services) for two and a half years. He probably does not quite—yet—consider himself a pacifist, but no pacifist has written hotter stuff about Hiroshima, the Bikini tests, United States policy in the Orient, and the psychological effects of war.

Much of the book is devoted to a description of how the author arrived at an ethical and religious view of life as a result of his contact with Oriental thought, written in a style that will appeal to those who ordinarily shy away from discussion about religious matters. In a comparatively limited space he gives by far the most brilliant, penetrating and comprehensive summary of Gandhi's thought, life and work that I have ever seen. If there ever is a mass pacifist movement in this country to avert World War III, this book will play a major role in building it. Sorry I read this book just before the deadline for FELLOWSHIP, so that there is neither space nor time for more than this breathless note.

A. J. M.

FOR Christmas cards are dignified, attractive, and meaningful, especially since proceeds from their sale goes to the War Victims Fund. Order today: 12 for $1; $7.50 per 100.

Quakers in Finland

An Experiment in Friendship, by David Hinshaw, G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1947. 147 pp. $2.50.

The setting of this book is "a one-story wooden barracks surrounded by gaunt chimneys and heaps upon heaps of rubble which once had been homes. The stark chimneys, pointing their bony fingers to the sky, seem to be sentinels warning mankind of the waste, horror, and futility of war."

The place is Rovaniemi, Finland, the capital of Lapland, where in the dark and gloomy days of the winter of 1945, when the Arctic sun did not rise, men, women, and children lived under conditions of incredible suffering in the land the retreating Germans had laid waste.

Enters the bright light of the Quakers, working, as always, in the areas of most intense suffering where human hearts as well as bodies ache the most. At first, the Quakers had a hard struggle getting relief supplies into distant Lapland. But at last the persistent efforts of the American Friends Service Committee and its loyal, self-giving workers began to tell and by mid-1946 an inspiring program of relief and reconstruction were under way.

This is a story of how the Quakers operate, of just how they go in to select the area for their project, get governmental permission, send in a small mission, and soon feed thousands of children and help thousands of adults to combine together in self-help projects. Since the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to the Friends for just this kind of work, the book takes on special interest. Everyone who has ever given a dollar to the AFSC should read this book so that he can see how much his dollar bought.

The early part of the book suffers from hasty writing and poor outlining, but the reader will be rewarded by the gripping story the later chapters tell. The volume is a worthy investment, especially since all of the profits are being turned over by the publisher for further work in the Finnish project.

GLENN D. EVERETT

Magazines may be remailed, after you have read them, to people in Europe. Why not forward your magazines to the people you send packages to? If you do not know of a family that could use them, write to Emily Parker Simon.

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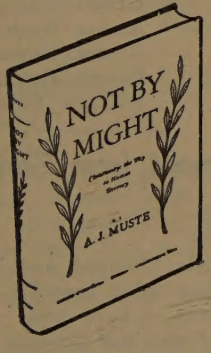

Just Published!

A "Must" for your "One World" reading

NOT BY MIGHT

Christianity: The Way to World Decency

By A. J. MUSTE

To an America numbed and uneasy by the terrifying prospect of another and possibly final world war, this bold and fair book addresses a moving appeal to reason and right religion as the sole way now left open to this country and the world. After carefully considering the alternatives which confront the nation at this juncture of world affairs, A. J. Muste chooses a proposal so daring and yet so logical that every concerned person will want to examine it before forming any judgment on the future of our world.

America and Russia have led the world apart across an almost unbridgeable chasm, he declares, so that temporizing or compromising solutions may well be as disastrous as open conflict itself. Nothing short of a straightforward avowal of Christian principles and conduct on the part of America and its individuals will break the deadlock, fire popular imagination, and begin negotiations all over again on a higher level, he concludes.

"The thesis of this book is just that this way that Jesus taught and lived is practical now for the individual and for our country. It is, in fact, the only way that makes sense any more. Let America try Christianity, the real thing, not some theological or ecclesiastical or easy-going substitute, on Russia and Bolshevism. Then the Russians will know that they are face to face with a power greater than theirs, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail." $2.50

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A PAGE OF COMMENT BY READERS

Reply on China

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

The Chinese Communists' reliance upon force as an instrument of social change, distresses me as much as it does "China Missionary" who commented in November FELLOWSHIP about my April article "Report From Yenan." No doubt our China Missionary is equally distressed over the "violence, bloodshed, and persecution" practiced by the Nationalist armies and Kuomintang secret police on Kunming and Peking college professors, students, and peasant conscriptees. However, to recite two pages of Nationalist violence for every one of Communist violence does not shed light on the real issue at hand. The issue in China (and elsewhere) is how to resist Communism effectively without at the same time giving support to the reactionary forces, in this case, the Nationalist party or Kuomintang, whose very refusal to institute reform acts as an incentive to Communism.

The situation is made more difficult by the fact that the Communists' revolution in its present stage contains more elements of sacrifice, idealism, and progress (although, as I pointed out in my article, this idealism will undoubtedly be lost in the continuing struggle for power) than does the Kuomintang. This view is confirmed by a friend of mine who spent six months working in Communist territory. Although the Communists are "anti-religious," as indicated by China Missionary, still they have their own form of Communist religion, inadequate though it be. The real danger to religion comes not from those who openly denounce it, but from those who profess it and then betray its precepts.

BRONSON P. CLARK
Philadelphia, Pa.

Protests War Research

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

It is very much on my mind that I see no signs of reaction, moral or political, against the news of continuing research by our military authorities into new forms of war such as would make Hiroshima seem like child's play. It would be a justified inference that not many people care much about this issue.

In general I suppose we should all agree that it is not our line to protest against particular weapons or methods but it seems to me that here we have an exception. We have to consider the effect of warfare, for one thing, on public opinion abroad and on foreign governments, especially on Soviet Russia. We must also consider the effect on the mind of our own public, already sufficiently callous, of such announcements which seem to assume as a matter of course the legitimacy of such methods and their acceptance by the citizens.

Readers are invited to contribute to this page. Please keep letters brief, since space is severely limited.

I should like to see action and reasoned protest from religious bodies, peace groups, groups interested in international affairs, labor spokesmen, magazines, weeklies and the daily press and quite specially from chemists protesting against the prostitution of their science to the search of ever more terrible gases and poisons and from the medical profession against the shocking proposal to spread diseases.

How can this protest be stimulated to an earnestness and massiveness which will mean that it must be regarded?

EMILY GREENE BALCH
Wellesley, Mass.

Ex-Cons Need Help

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Many of the conscientious objectors who served prison terms during the war, and especially those who work for various "liberal" movements and organizations, frequently are called on for help by other prisoners, not COs, with whom they "did time." Sometimes the help is needed for a recently released prisoner who can't find a job, or who is having difficulty readjusting to "civilian" life. Often the CO realizes poignantly that he may be the last hope for a man who otherwise will soon be on the skids back to crime and the penitentiary. Sometimes the request is for legal aid in appealing a case for a man now in prison.

At the core of such pleas is the personal, friendly relationship that exists, and the fact that any aid given is on that basis, and not tied up with the frequently humiliating, report-and-supervision-ridden type of professional help available. Usually the person in question desperately needs encouragement and friendship; almost always financial aid is also required.

The cases are rarely "good" ones involving civil liberties, or workers' rights, or race discrimination, and consequently seldom get aid from the agencies interested in such matters. Three recent ones of this sort were:

Bob L———. A military prisoner with a long sentence, with record of juvenile delinquency from poor home background. 26 years old. Released a year ago. Recently lost job when employer learned of record; child stillborn; wife left him. Bob went on bum, wound up in county jail "drunk and disorderly." Has had financial and other help, but need continues.

Bill M———. Released recently after 5½ years in penitentiary in morals case. Guilt doubtful. Courageous Negro, 25, fought Jim Crow through prison. COs found job for him, advanced money for rent, food.

Bill C———. Convicted at 18 of bank robbery, sentenced to 25 years. Has served 6 years. Recent appeal denied by district court; denial reversed by Appeals Court. Workers Defense League attorney believes case has merit. Money needed for legal fees.

The COs called on for this kind of help are, for the most part, on very limited income, and most of them have advanced all the money they can for such purposes. Accordingly, the undersigned have set up a Committee to Aid Convicts and Ex-Convicts, and are appealing for contributions to set up a special fund for such emergencies. The money will not be used to help imprisoned COs or for other "celebrated" cases, but will be used exclusively for helpless, friendless men who have got tangled inextricably in the cruel net we call justice.

We shall be most grateful if some of the readers of FELLOWSHIP are moved to contribute to such a fund. Gifts should be sent to Alfred Hassler, Treasurer, at 2929 Broadway, New York 29, N. Y.

DAVID DELLINGER
ALFRED HASSLER
GEORGE HOUSER
BAYARD RUSTIN
WILLIAM SUTHERLAND

Comment from Germany

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

The article "Politics and Passivism" contains ideas rather upsetting for simple pacifist minds. I have never understood the point of view that pacifism must keep away from politics; would not things be much better between nations if politics were penetrated by the spirit of peace? Why should not that be possible? We have seen the fulfillment of Gandhi's political work—surely nobody will suspect *him* of a struggle for power!—but his non-violence did never mean passivism. . . . What is the good of the negative statement of the author that he did not support nor resist any militarism? Have we not a responsibility towards ourselves and towards others? And if already strong faith is a help to others why should it be wrong to translate this faith by action? Is not, on the contrary, this faith obliged to action? At any rate the article leaves many questions unanswered on which we have to find an answer, today more necessary than ever. . . .

BERTA THORN PRIKKER
Godesberg, Germany

Letter from Austria

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Today when I came home for my modest lunch I found a letter from a forwarding agency. A bit astonished I opened it to find the information that I could fetch a CARE parcel. I couldn't speak a word and at first believed it an error because I have nobody in the States to expect a parcel from. Often I had a bit envied those lucky ones who went to this CARE organization and got parcels. Today I was among the elected. I rushed to the office and got a parcel weighing some 45 lbs. Rarely a man liked better to carry a load than I did.

At home my wife and little boy awaited me already eagerly. Then came the grand moment of unpacking. Christmas was nothing compared with this. You should have seen the shining eyes of my boy when we took out biscuits and chocolate and sweets—things he hardly knows and we older ones have almost forgotten. Surely you feel that you have done a good work but the full extent you cannot realize. . . . We had tears in our eyes when we thought that somebody had spent so much money for complete strangers. We realize very well that every American has not millions and that our generous friend could have spent the money for his personal well-being. Really, many Americans are big-hearted and understanding men. We can only thank you and pray to God that He may bless you.

DR. FRANZ HÖNIGSCHMID
Vienna, Austria

Weaknesses of FOR?

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

This letter will be perfectly frank, not vague, and sincerely harsh, not sirupy—somewhat of a novelty for your "Readers' Comments" page. That is, if you have the courage to print it.

I am making a clean break with FOR and most, though not all, of what it stands for. For four and a quarter years of CPS experience I came in contact with all shades and varieties of FOR members, the vast majority considering themselves "liberals." Their making a reactionary fetish out of collectivism has become too much for me to stomach any longer, however.

I have become convinced that the FOR's main motivations are economic and political, despite its frequent protestations that it is religiously motivated. Merely rearranging furniture in a room is fine for those who like that sort of thing—but please don't claim to have *basically* improved that room, any more than redistributing all the wealth evenly among the members of the human race (as some FOR members would do) would transform dullards into intelligent beings and sluggards into ambitious beings.

To really improve conditions generally, it seems to me the FOR should concentrate on the *individual*, his freedoms and obligations under a Supreme Being. This would, first of all, entail an emphasis on a religious approach to life and, secondly, its practical application. In Christianity there is reverence for human personality, and this is translated in the United States into broad individual freedoms.

But what is the FOR doing? It is: (1) Reducing religion to mere philosophical platitudes, complete with abstract poetry; (2) Stressing warfare instead of amicable relations. Example: belligerent anti-management mouthings and activities, and certain undesirable white-black racial relations; (3) Preaching collectivism instead of individualism, in the form of coops, labor unions and radical political parties of the Wallace odor, that espouse a Socialist Heaven: state monopoly.

That is why I am through with the FOR. When I realize that the United States is the sole country capable of checking the advance of Communist imperialism, that Socialists have buttered up to and cooperated with Communists in a number of European countries, that the FOR contains many, many Socialists and Communist-sympathizers, if not actual Communists, that FELLOWSHIP sometimes reads like *The Daily Worker*, it really disturbs me. Doesn't it you?

WILLARD A. BAER
Orlando, Florida

Pacifism and Taxation

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

To me it was heartening to discover at the national conference the interest received by the tax problem and decentralism, though neither were on the set program.

Both these matters are intimately related. Central to the decentralist's position is the reduction to a minimum of both "government" and taxation. They feel tax *avoidance* is much more consistent with pacifist living than tax-refusal. To untangle ourselves from the myriad of "things" of a materialistic society, and to take ourselves as far as possible *out* of the cash and tax cycle by direct production on the land of life's essentials, results not only in creative and disciplined living, but is an effective type of civil disobedience.

In this connection, may I urge that the committee appointed on taxation study the whole base of taxation. Some of us strongly feel that the income tax is fundamentally wrong. All of us can find instances of its injustice, as in the case of these two friends of mine.

One sweats daily at pouring hot metal in a foundry. Out of his fairly good wage he pays an income tax, besides setting up a small homestead on which his wife and two daughters work. The other lives in the best suburb of the city, but has no job. He doesn't "need" any, because he has inherited a lot of valuable city land. He collects rent from several properties, and a few years ago sold a practically vacant quarter-block in the city for $400,000.

My first friend has *earned* his income. But after his living expenses are out he's paying a higher proportion of the remainder in income tax than the second, who does nothing to earn what he gets from letting other people use his land. We recommend the study, by the tax committee, and all pacifists, of the social-value in land as the proper source for public funds. *How* people get their income is as much a concern of justice as what percent of it goes to the government and its war budgets.

MILDRED JENSEN LOOMIS
Brookville, Ohio

On Cleghorn and Critics

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Congratulations on the publication of Sarah Cleghorn's "Blessing the Animals," and on your editorial comment thereon in the following issue. I am not an opponent of vivisection, but I assuredly dissent from the views expressed by those who object to discussion of the subject in FELLOWSHIP.

As I understand it, FELLOWSHIP has never aspired to speak *ex cathedra* through its articles, and I should more fear a ban on consideration of such topics as socialism, anarchism, and voluntary poverty in relationship to pacifism than any damage that might result from a chance reader supposing that a majority of pacifists subscribe to such causes. Pacifism has yet to receive dogmatic form, and I hope it never does so crystallize.

Meanwhile true pacifists should especially welcome controversial opinions; and God help us when we are afraid to hear others discuss topics on which we happen already to have made up our minds.

R. V. LANGFORD
San Marino, California

Action Needed

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Some local FOR branches are still emphasizing happy gatherings of like-minded people, often selecting speakers to inspire more of the same like-mindedness rather than to lead greater and greater numbers of men and women in a prolonged, consecutive, vital action to prevent World War III by changing fundamental conditions.

VALERIE RIGGS
Cambridge, Mass.

Washington Conference

Save the dates! The FOR and the National Council for Prevention of War will jointly sponsor a conference to be held in Washington, D. C., on December 11-14. On the first evening there will be a mass meeting, with speakers to be announced later. On December 12 there will be conferences and discussions in the morning and afternoon. The morning of December 13 will be open for visiting Senators and Congressmen. On December 14, the final day of the conference, Dr. Robert Hutchins of the University of Chicago will speak.

PACIFISTS AND THE PEACE PRIZE

The 1947 Nobel Peace Prize has been awarded to the American Friends Service Committee and its British counterpart. The 1946 Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to Emily Greene Balch, president of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

The award of this coveted prize to pacifist individuals and organizations in both years since the end of World War II is of great significance. No pacifist group spends time or money drawing public attention to itself, and none gets more than an occasional grudging notice from the press, while hundreds of pages of type constantly carry the words and ideas of those who would build peace through armies, alliances, and atom bombs. But when the Nobel judges had to determine who had done the most for peace, the quiet healing work of pacifism won out.

The work of the Fellowship of Reconciliation is of this sort, in this country and abroad. It works continuously with the AFSC and other pacifist groups, combatting the militarization of America, reviving the pacifist strength abroad, witnessing constantly to the message of reconciliation between races and between nations. Its work is needed now as never before, but it can go ahead only as its members and friends contribute to its work. Additional generous contributions are needed if the Fellowship is not to end this year in serious debt. If you have not yet given this year—or if you can give again—will you not do so now?

Send contributions to

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Promise for Christmas

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But the manger is the wide earth's woe
And the Babe has many counterparts;
Any homeless, any unloved child
Has a birthright claim upon our hearts
Haunted by a crying in the wild.

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